

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 080725  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:DKEOGH:RCB  
APPROVED BY AF/S:DKPETTERSON  
S/S: MR. SEBASTIAN

-----112029Z 027097 /47

O 112015Z APR 77 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 080725

NODIS  
WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, SF

SUBJECT: DR. OWEN'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY

1. HERewith TEXT OF OWEN LETTER PROMISED STATE 79685.
2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR CY:

WHEN WE DISCUSSED RHODESIA IN THE COURSE OF YOUR  
VISIT TO LONDON LAST WEEK, THE PRIME MINISTER EXPLAINED TO  
YOU THAT I WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT MY COLLEAGUES AFTER OUR  
MEETING BEFORE I COULD GO FIRM ON THE PROPOSALS FOR A  
NEW RHODESIAN STRATEGY WHICH I OUTLINED TO YOU AND ON  
WHICH YOU WERE SO POSITIVE.

I CAN NOW TELL YOU THAT MY COLLEAGUES HAVE AGREED  
THAT I SHOULD, IN THE COURSE OF MY FORTHCOMING AFRICAN  
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TOUR, EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF RE-LAUNCHING NEGOTIATIONS  
WITH ALL THE PARTIES WHO WERE REPRESENTED AT THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE, FOCUSsing THIS TIME ON AN INDEPENDENCE  
CONSTITUTION FOR ZIMBABWE. WE AGREED THAT ANY DECISION  
AS TO WHETHER TO FORMALLY CONVENE THE CONFERENCE WOULD  
HAVE TO BE TAKEN AFTER MY RETURN WHEN I IMAGINE YOU TOO  
WOULD NEED TO CONSIDER THE RESPONSE IN AFRICA AND WEIGH

UP THE PROSPECT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THIS

WOULD BE PARTICULARLY NECESSARY IF MR. SMITH DECLINED TO ATTEND. I WILL PRESENT THE PROSPECTS IN GENERAL RATHER THAN PRESENT A DETAILED DOCUMENT, AT ANY RATE AT THIS STAGE. I WILL STRESS THE FOLLOWING AS JOINTLY AGREED BETWEEN US:

(1) THE UNITED STATES WOULD CO-SPONSOR THE INITIAL CONFERENCE AND SEND A STRONG DELEGATION TO IT.

(2) THE US DELEGATION WOULD TAKE PART IN PLENARY MEETINGS AND HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK:

(3) THE OBJECTIVE WOULD BE ELECTIONS FOR MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE, IN THE COURSE OF 1978:

(4) THESE ELECTIONS WOULD IN OUR VIEW NEED TO TAKE PLACE ON THE BASIS OF AN UNRESTRICTED FRANCHISE BUT ANYONE WHO WISHED TO ARGUE TO THE CONTRARY WOULD BE FULLY ENTITLED TO DO SO AT THE CONFERENCE.

(5) THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION WOULD IN OUR VIEW NEED TO GUARANTEE INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS BUT NOT MINORITY RIGHTS BUT ANYONE WHO WISHED TO ARGUE TO THE CONTRARY WOULD BE FULLY ENTITLED TO DO SO AT THE CONFERENCE.

(6) THE ACTUAL ELECTORAL PROCESS FOR ACHIEVING MAJORITY RULE AND THE NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE ELECTORAL  
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PROCESS WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE.

(7) THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND WOULD BE SUSPENDED IF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTION.

THE GREATEST ANXIETIES EXPRESSED BY MY COLLEAGUES RELATED TO PARA 18 OF THE PAPER, AS PRESENTLY WRITTEN, WHICH THEY DID NOT FEEL REFLECTED SUFFICIENTLY THE JOINT NATURE OF THE WHOLE APPROACH AND LAID TOO GREAT AN EMPHASIS ON A BRITISH PRESENCE ALONE. I THINK WE SHOULD HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON HOW WE SHOULD HANDLE THIS ELECTORAL PERIOD. THEY ACCEPTED YOUR POINT ABOUT THE UN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE AND THE DANGERS OF RUSSIAN INVOLVEMENT BUT THEY WANT REASSURANCE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD BE INVOLVED IN THIS CRUCIAL PERIOD. I WILL THEREFORE NOT SPECIFY IN DETAIL ON THIS POINT IN AFRICA AND CONFINE MYSELF TO THE LINE SUGGESTED IN (6).

IN GREATLY WELCOMING THE INDICATION YOU GAVE ME OF  
US SUPPORT, IT WAS SUGGESTED, AND I AGREE, THAT IT WOULD  
BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IF YOU COULD INSTRUCT YOUR

AMBASSADOR IN CAPE TOWN TO TELL MR. VORSTER BEFORE I  
MYSELF SEE HIM, SAY ON 12 APRIL, THAT THE POLICY WHICH  
I SHALL BE OUTLINING HAS BEEN DISCUSSED AND AGREED WITH  
YOU AND THAT THE US GOVERNMENT LEND IT THEIR FULL SUPPORT.

MY COLLEAGUES AGREED I SHOULD VISIT SALISBURY IF  
THIS SEEMED JUSTIFIED IN THE LIGHT OF MY TALKS WITH MR.  
SMITH IN CAPE TOWN. I AM INCLINED TO THINK NOW THAT I  
SHOULD DO THIS, BUT WILL NOT TAKE THE FINAL DECISION  
UNTIL I HAVE SEEN MR. SMITH ON 13 APRIL.

I SHALL OF COURSE ENSURE THAT YOU ARE GIVEN A  
DETAILED ASSESSMENT OF ALL MY TALKS.

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I HAVE TODAY HAD AN INTERESTING DISCUSSION WITH  
MUZOREWA. HE PUT FORWARD HIS OWN PLAN FOR A REFERENDUM  
INTERESTINGLY REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE BUT INSISTING ON  
THE PRIOR GUARANTEE OF AN IMMEDIATE HAND OVER OF POWER  
BY MR. SMITH AFTER THE REFERENDUM. I CAST GRAVE DOUBTS  
ON ITS FEASIBILITY WHILE EMPHASIZING THAT I ENTIRELY  
SHARED HIS OBJECTIVE OF MAJORITY RULE, AT LEAST IN 1978.  
I PUT FORWARD THE ALTERNATIVE OF CONCENTRATING ON  
THE CONSTITUTION OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE ON THE LINES  
WE AGREED. HE UNDERTOOK TO CONSIDER THIS AND THOUGH HE  
MADE SOME EXPECTED CRITICISMS HE WILL I THINK EVENTUALLY  
AGREE TO ATTEND.

I HOPE SOMEONE FROM YOUR DEPARTMENT WILL SEE HIM  
WHEN HE IS OVER WITH YOU NEXT WEEK AND STRESS YOUR  
INVOLVEMENT.

A HAPPY EASTER AND GOOD LUCK. I RECKON WE BOTH  
NEED IT.

BEST WISHES, DAVID END TEXT.  
VANCE

SECRET

NNN



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Drafter:** DKEOGH:RCB  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DR. OWEN'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PSDC, ODIP, RH, US, SF, (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009